

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MADRID 06168 01 OF 02 121106Z

11

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAM-01

SAJ-01 /061 W

----- 098156

P R 111893Z AUG 76

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6754

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY OSLO

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 6168

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, SP

SUBJECT: PSOE'S FELIPE GONZALEZ ON CURRENT SITUATION

BEGIN SUMMARY: PSOE SECGEN FELIPE GONZALEZ CAME TO SEE ME AT RESIDENCE THIS MORNING FOR CANDID POLITICAL TOUR D'HORIZON. OUR CONVERSATION FOLLOWED ON THE HEELS OF HIS THREE-HOUR TALK WITH PRIME MINISTER SUAREZ LAST NIGHT. GONZALEZ LOOKS QUITE TIRED THESE DAYS, BUT HE CLEARLY WAS PLEASED WITH LAST NIGHT'S DIALOGUE, BOTH AS REGARDS THE "CORDIAL AND FRANK" EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS AND HIS JUDGMENT THAT SUAREZ IS GENUINELY COMMITTED TO MOVING SPAIN TO DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS. HE SEES THE PATH STREWN WITH PITFALLS (AND CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MADRID 06168 01 OF 02 121106Z

IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE AGING MILITARY BUNKER) BUT THE

PSOE IS WILLING TO NEGOTIATE AND PARTICIPATE IF SUAREZ  
FOLLOWS THE APPROACH HE OUTLINED. GONZALEZ' REMARKS  
WERE CHARACTERIZED BY PRAGMATISM AND LEVEL-HEADEDNESS,  
AND A RESUME OF THE PRINCIPAL POINTS FOLLOWS. END SUMMARY.

1. THE AUTUMN REFERENDUM. GONZALEZ SAID THAT SUAREZ  
TOLD HIM THE GO ZR IS THINKING IN TERMS OF A POPULAR  
"CONSULTATION" (CONSULTA) IN THE FALL WHICH WOULD INVOLVE  
FOUR OR FIVE BASIC, LARGEY "PHILOSOPHICAL" QUESTIONS,  
(PERHAPS SOMETHING ALONG THE LINES OF: DO YOU WANT A  
DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM FOR SPAIN? A PARLIAMENT ELECTED BY  
DIRECT, UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE? FREE TRADE UNIONS? THESE  
QUESTIONS WOULD FIRST BE PASSED THROUGH THE "CORTES"  
THEN PRESENTED TO THE PEOPLE, SURAEZ HAVING STRESSED  
AT THE OUTSET OF THE MEETING HIS VIEW THAT THE NORMS  
OF LEGALITY SHOULD BE FOLLOWED. AS THE RESULT OF THE  
POPULAR "CONSULTA," THE GOVT, IN CONSULTATION WITH ALL  
POLITICAL SECTORS INCLUDING THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION,  
WOULD THEN DRAFT AN ELECTORAL LAW TO GOVERN  
PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, TO BE HELD, AS SUAREZ PROMISED,  
NO LATER THAN JUNE 1977.

2. GONZALEZ INDICATED AGREEMENT WITH SUAREZ AS TO THE  
GENERAL SHAPE OF THE CONSULTATION AND THE TIMING OF ELECTIONS.  
HE POINTED OUT THAT THE OPPOSITION NEEDS SOME TIME TO  
ORGANIZE ITSELF AND THIS TIMETABLE IS VIABLE.  
GONZALEZ SAID SUAREZ' APPROACH WAS INTERNALLY CONSISTENT,  
BUT THAT HE HAD TRIED TO IMPRESS UPON SUAREZ THAT  
THE GOVT MUST REALIZE THAT ONCE THE PEOPLE HAVE EXPRESSED  
THEMSELVES, THE EXISTING INSTITUTIONS, SUCH AS THE CORTES  
AND COUNCIL OF THE REALM, WILL HAVE LOST ANY LEGITIMACY  
AND THE GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO RULE BY DECREE-LAW UNTIL THE  
NEW DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED PARLIAMENT TAKES OFFICE.  
AS REGARDS THE SO-CALLED "PROSPECTIVE" REFERENDUM,  
GONZALEZ SAID SOME CONSERVATIVE MILITARY MEN, AMONG  
OTHERS, HAVE NOW TAKEN UP THE IDEA BECAUSE IT WOULD NOT  
BE CONSIDERED BINDING AS IT WOULD NOT INVOLVE CONSULTING  
THE CORTES. GONZALEZ WANTS A "CONSULTA," WHICH WOULD  
BE PORTRAYED AS BINDING.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MADRID 06168 01 OF 02 121106Z

3. SHAPE OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT. BASED ON HIS CONVERSATION  
WITH SUAREZ, GONZALEZ SEID THE GOVT'S IDEAS ON  
THE FORM OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT HAVE EVOLVED CONSIDERABLY  
AND FOR THE BETTER. ACCORDING TO GONZALEZ, SUAREZ SPOKE  
OF A BICAMERAL LEGISLATURE, WITH AN UPPER HOUSE STRUCTURED  
ALONG "REGIONAL AND NATIONAL," RATHER THAN FRANCO-ITE  
CORPORATE LINES, AND WITH A LOWER HOUSE TO WHICH THE  
EXECUTIVE WOULD BE RESPONSIBLE. SUAREZ INDICATED A

DESIRE TO RETAIN THE COUNCIL OF THE REALM, WHICH WOULD, HOWEVER, REPRESENT THE PROFOUNDLY ALTERED COMPOSITION OF PARLIAMENT. GONZALEZ ARGUED IT WOULD BE AN ANACHRONISM AND POLITICALLY DANGEROUS. WHETHER OR NOT THE NEW PARLIAMENT WOULD BE "CONSTITUENT," GONZALEZ SAID, WOULD BE A QUESTION OF "THEATER." THE OPPOSITION WOULD CALL IT SO, BUT HE RECOGNIZED THE GOVT COULD NOT. BUT IN FACT IT WOULD BE A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED LEGISLATURE WITH OBVIOUS CONSTITUENT RESPONSIBILITIES.

4. GOVT-OPPOSITION NEGOTIATIONS. GONZALEZ IS CONVINCED THAT SUAREZ WILL CONTINUE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE OPPOSITION ON THE SHAPE AND PACE OF REFORM. DESPITE THE DIFFICULTIES, THE OPPOSITION NEEDS TO DECIDE ON A NEGOTIATING GROUP OF SAY TEN TO TWELVE REPRESENTATIVES OF SIGNIFICANT GROUPS TO DEAL, IN THE OPPOSITION'S NAME, WITH THE GOVT. THESE WOULD REPRESENT THE MAIN OPPOSITION POLITICAL CURRENTS AND WOULD EXCLUDE THE FAR-LEFT MINI-GROUPS AND OPPORTUNISTIC INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE GIVEN THE PSOE SUCH HEARTBURN WITHIN THE PLATAJUNTA. THE GOS WOULD NOT SIT DOWN AT THE TABLE WITH THE PCE, BUT GONZALEZ BELIEVES THE PCE CAN LIVE WITH THIS AS LONG AS IT IS CONSULTED BY THE NEGOTIATING GROUP. IN THIS VEIN, HE EXPRESSED IRRITATION AT THE NECESSITY FOR THE PSOE AND OTHERS CONTINUALLY TO REPRESENT THE COMMUNISTS, AND HE SAID THAT THIS PROBLEM WOULD BE SOLVED--AND THE COMMUNISTS WOULD BE DEMYTHIFIED-- IF THE GOVT WOULD LEGALIZE THEM. HE WISHED THE GOS WOULD PERMIT "LA PASIONARIA" AND CARRILLO TO RETURN TO SPAIN. HE RAISED THIS WITH SUAREZ, WHO SAID THAT THE TWO HAVE TO BE BARRED PRIMARILY BECAUSE THE GOVT CANNOT GUARANTEE THEIR SECURITY--EVEN THE GOVT'S OWN SECURITY MEN AS SIGNED TO PROTECT THEM MIGHT BE A PROBLEM.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MADRID 06168 01 OF 02 121106Z

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MADRID 06168 02 OF 02 121102Z

11

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAM-01

SAJ-01 /061 W

----- 098076

P R 111893Z AUG 76  
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6755  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
AMEMBASSY OSLO  
USMISSION NATO  
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MADRID 6168

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, SP  
SUBJECT: PSOE'S FELIPE GONZALEZ ON CURRENT SITUATION

5. THE MILITARY ANGLE. THE CIVILIAN "BUNKERS" ARE NO PARTICULAR PROBLEM AT THE MOMENT ("THEY HAVE TAKEN TO PAINTING WALLS WITH RIGHTIST SLOGANS--WE HAV PAINTED WALLS FOR YEARS AND KNOW THAT IT'S ONLY THOSE WITH NO REAL POWER WHO DO THIS SORT OF THING.") BUT THE REAL DANGER DURING THE NEXT SIX OR SEVEN MONTHS, WHICH COULD BE DIFFICULT, IS THAT THE MILITARY BUNKER MAY SEE ITSELF CALLED ON TO "SAVE" THE COUNTRY. GONZALEZ WISHED FOR A REDUCTION IN THE MILITARY RETIREMENT AGE BY FIVE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MADRID 06168 02 OF 02 121102Z

YEARS, EMASCULATING THE MILITARY BUNKER. ON AN UPBEAT NOTE, GONZALEZ DID NOT CONSIDER SPAIN'S RADICAL POLITICAL GROUPS (LEFT OR RIGHT) SUFFICIENTLY WELL ORGANIZED TO CAUSE SERIOUS PROBLEMS IN THE STREETS OR FACTORIES AND EXPRESSED SOME SKEPTICISM ABOUT PROGNOSTICATIONS OF A "HOT" LABOR AUTUMN, LARGEMLY BECAUSE HE BELIEVES WORKERS WILL LIKELY BE CONCERNED ABOUT KEEPING THEIR JOBS IN THE CURRENT ECONOMIC SLUMP. THINGS MIGHT BE DIFFICULT, BUT HE DIS- TRUSTED THE MOTIVES OF SOME OF THOSE WHO WERE PREDICTING

BIG TROUBLE IN OCTOBER.

6. FORMULAS FOR THE TRANSITION. THERE ARE THREE PRINCIPAL FORMULAS BEING BRUITED ABOUT AS TO THE SHAPE OF A TRANSITIONAL GOVT. THE PCE CONTINUES TO INSIST ON A "PROVISIONAL GOVT," INCLUDING REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL MAJOR POLITICAL FORCES, LARGELY BECAUSE THIS WOULD BE THE PCE'S ONLY CHANCE OF PARTICIPATING IN GOVT OVER THE NEXT 5-10 YEARS, BUT THIS IS OBVIOUSLY UNREALISTIC. A SECOND PROPOSAL IS THE TIERNO GALVAN IDEA OF A GOVT OF "NATIONAL CONCENTRATION," WHICH HAS SOME SIMILARITIES TO THE PCE'S PROVISIONAL GOVT, BUT WOULD STOP SHORT OF INCLUDING THE COMMUNISTS. A THIRD APPROACH, WITH WHICH GONZALEZ IDENTIFIED THE PSOE, IS THE MORE PRAGMATIC ONE OF ACCEPTING ANY GOVT, SUCH AS THE CURRENT ONE, WHICH PUBLICLY COMMITS ITSELF TO SPECIFIC DEMOCRATIC OBJECTIVES AND AN EXPLICIT TIMETABLE, FOR WHICH IT COULD THEN BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE. GONZALEZ REPEATEDLY STRESSED THAT HE IS CONCERNED ABOUT RESULTS, NOT FORMULAS, AND THAT, IF THE CURRENT GOVT CAN DELIVER ON DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS, THAT--NOT THE COMPOSITION OF THE GOS--IS THE IMPORTANT THING.

7. THE PSOE. THE PARTY CONSIDERS ITSELF TO BE "DE FACTO" LEGAL AND IS OPENING OFFICES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY AND CARRYING OUT A VARIETY OF OVERT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES. WHETHER THE PSOE WILL APPLY FOR "DE JURE" LEGALIZATION WILL BE DECIDED AT THE NOVEMBER PARTY CONGRESS, BUT HE EXPECTS THEY WILL ACCEPT LEGALITY. THE PARTY'S CURRENT STATUS IS NOT WITHOUT ITS PROBLEMS, WITNESS THE FACT THAT MORE PSOE MILITANTS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED IN RECENT MONTHS THAN MEMBERS OF ANY OTHER PARTY. BUT HE OPINED THAT THE SITUATION WOULD BE BASICALLY THE SAME IF THE PARTY HAD APPLIED FOR AND BEEN CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MADRID 06168 02 OF 02 121102Z

GRANTED LEGALIZATION ("THE CIVIL GUARD IN SOME OULYING TOWNS HAS NOT YET RECEIVED THE CABLE ADVISING THEM OF FRANCO'S DEATH"). IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ABOUT THE OUTLOOK FOR SOCIALIST UNITY, GONZALEZ STATED THAT MANY OF THE MINI-GROUPS WOULD SIMPLY DISAPPEAR WHEN CONFRONTED WITH ELECTIONS. IN SPITE OF THIS RATHER CASUAL RESPONSE, GONZALEZ MUST BE CONCERNED ABOUT THE, BY HIS COUNT, 19 SOCIALIST GROUPINGS EXTANT IN SPAIN.

8. COMMENT: GONZALEZ WAS QUITE FRANK, AS HE HAS ALWAYS BEEN IN OUR OCCASIONAL CHATS, AND I SHOULD STRESS THAT HE GAVE HIS VIEWS TO ME IN CONFIDENCE IN THE EXPECTATION THAT THEY WOULD REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL. HE CONTRASTED LAST NIGHT'S CONVERSATION FAVORABLY WITH THE VERBAL "BATTLE" HE ENGAGED IN WITH FORMER INTERIOR MINISTER FRAGA AND THE UTTER LACK OF COMMUNICATION WITH FORMER

PRIME MINISTER ARIAS. HE OBVIOUSLY FOUND SUAREZ, WHO SHARES HIS YOUTHFUL EBULLIENCE, LOQUACITY AND PRAGMATISM, TO BE AN APPEALING INTERLOCUTOR. THIS AUGURS WELL FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF A PRODUCTIVE GOVT- OPPOSITION DIALOGUE. THE ONUS IS ALSO ON THE OPPOSITION, A FACT RECOGNIZED BY GONZALEZ IN HIS EMPHASIS ON THE DESIGNATION OF NEGOTIATORS BY THE MAJOR OPPOSITION GROUPS, A VERY COMPLICATED TASK. WHAT SUAREZ APPARENTLY SAID TO GONZALEZ APPEARS QUITE CONSISTENT WITH THE APPROACH HE OUTLINED TO ME (MADRID 6047). GONZALEZ INDICATED HE HAD NO TROUBLE WITH SUAREZ'S REFUSING TO COMMIT HIMSELF ON SPECIFICS, OTHERWISE THERE WOULD BE NO ROOM FOR NEGOTIATION.

STABLER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptoning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PERSONAL OPINION, POLITICAL LEADERS, POLITICAL SITUATION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 11 AUG 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976MADRID06168  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760310-0519  
**From:** MADRID  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760865/aaaacelq.tel  
**Line Count:** 290  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 06 APR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <06 APR 2004 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <06 APR 2004 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006  
  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** PSOE'S FELIPE GONZALEZ ON CURRENT SITUATION BEGIN SUMMARY: PSOE SECGEN FELIPE GONZALEZ CAME TO SEE ME AT RESIDENCE THIS MORNING FOR CANDID POLITICAL TOUR D  
**TAGS:** PINT, SP, (GONZALEZ, FELIPE)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006